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Since its creation, the Communist Internationale has been anxious to extend its influence into colonial possessions. During the Twentieth Congress (August 1928), theses on the revolutionary movement in colonies and protectorates were elaborated. The Kusunen idea, a new tactic, was to try to bolshevize native peoples even before the liberation of the colonies. However, local communist parties were more preoccupied with their national politics, neglected the colonial work and showed a lack of discipline and comprehension from the point of view of the doctrine. The best developed revolutionary organizations broke away from the main Communist party to which they were formerly subjugated and were considered independent sections of the Communist Internationals. That is what happened in regard to the Indo Chinese Communist Party in 1921. From that time on, an 'Orient Office' was set up which became the main liaison body between Moscow and the colonies and among the colonies themselves. It received orders from the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Communist leaders directed their efforts toward Asia. China constituted a field of experience which could become the source of a general movement against the colonial empires of that part of the world. For this reason the 'Orient Office' installed its secretariat in Shanghai.

The idea of a vast revolutionary league grouping all the Annamite nationals was taken up again in 1936 when HO Chi Minh sanctioned the formation of the Single Democratic Front which was based on three objectives which he later assigned to the Viet Minh:

- A. Overthrow of the French Imperialist regime;
- B. Recognition of the independence of Viet Nam;
- C. Founding of the Viet Nam Republican Democratic Union.

Following the regression of the Indo Chinese Communist Party which had been cut off by the repressions which followed the very serious revolt of November, 1940 in Cochinchina, HO Chi Minh took up the work and bent all his efforts in the creation of a 'single anti-imperialist Indochinese Front' whose principles had been approved by the Comintern since 1939. Patiently, he regrouped all the Annamite elements in South China, in Yunnan and in Kwangsi and maneuvered among the difficulties caused by

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leaders of rival embryonic nationalist parties which had taken refuge in China. In May, 1941, he called together a congress representing all nationalist Annamite groups at Tsai-Tai (Chin-Chi?) in Kwangsi. From this meeting the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi was born which in four years became the symbol of the nationalist spirit.

3. The official program of the Viet Minh includes all the democratic 'freedoms'. However, because of the backward state of the Annamite masses, the leaders figure that a free play of democratic institutions might end in catastrophe and foresee a preparatory period which amounts to a dictatorship. The administrative organization is said to be modeled on the Soviet set-up. There is a vast program of social reform but it is to be noted that the Viet Minh is very cautious on the agrarian question. Remembering the complete check of the Communist Party in rural areas, it has gone as far as to guarantee the rights of private property. On the other hand, in the few rural communities where collectivistic attempts have been outlined, the people have violently fought against Viet Minh partisans and have made them give up their attempts. In relation to foreign powers, the Viet Minh depends on the United States to which it proposes to concede certain important economic advantages; China, which served as a refuge to the leaders during the war; and the U.S.S.R. which has always upheld the causes of oppressed peoples.
4. HO Chi Minh has organized Viet Nam according to territory and according to social and professional categories. At the base of the whole organization is the 'cell' which is made up of many parts, is very strong within itself and has no outside relationship. The cell comprises members who have specific affinities. Each cell is part of a so-called 'vertical' organization which affects the whole of Viet Nam and groups all cells of the same type. These vertical organizations are called "Associations for the Good of the Country." They are ruled by an elected committee each of which, in turn, elects a head or chief. At the same time, for military as well as political reasons a complementary territorial organization was created which centralized methods of combat and propaganda in one leader acting under directives put out by the Central Committee of the Party. Thus, in one place for all questions touching on combat or war, a group of cells belonging to different vertical organizations are united for action under the command of a single leader who is under orders of the Central Committee. Viet Nam was divided into three parts: Bac-Bo or Tonkin, Trung-Bo or Annam and Nam-Bo or Cochinchina. Each Bo is divided into provinces or sectors, each sector into townships, villages or districts (in the cities) and the divisions correspond roughly to the actual official delimitations. These two organizational set-ups meet at each echelon of the territorial organization. Each division is under the authority of a Viet Minh Committee. This committee is composed of delegates elected in each vertical organization that is represented and directed by a head named by the chief of the higher territorial division. The head of the Committee has great power; the members are there to be consulted and to carry out his orders.
5. The Central Committee is at the head of the Viet Minh. It is composed of delegates from all the vertical organizations representing

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the Committees of the country; heads of organizations of general interest which depend directly on the Central Committee such as those having to do with guerilla troops, propaganda and finance. The Head of the Central Committee is elected by members of the Committee. The general organization corresponds to the necessities of two orders:

- A. A hierarchy elected within the vertical organizations having as its purpose the making into cells of the population.
- B. A hierarchy which is appointed and strictly imposes the unity of action ordered by the Central Committee.

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